- 1 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Thank you very
- 2 much.
- 3 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Moving along, we are
- 4 fortunate -- we were fortunate at our last meeting to
- 5 hear from the original sponsors of the legislation
- 6 which created this Commission. Let me emphasize yet
- 7 again that they were invited because they were the
- 8 sponsors of the legislation and it was important to
- 9 hear from them. Today, we are joined by a member of
- 10 Congress who has had many constituents with firsthand
- 11 knowledge of the social and economic impact of
- 12 legalized gambling. Senator Richard Bryan, a native
- 13 of Southern Nevada, was re-elected to a second term in
- 14 the United States Senate on November 8, 1994. He has
- 15 also served as Governor of that state. For more than
- 16 a decade, he has been an ardent advocate for the
- 17 consumer. He has championed increased consumer
- 18 protection, efforts to curb illegal immigration, and
- 19 limit federal spending and has participated in
- 20 numerous bills related to gambling. I know that this
- 21 is, in fact, an important day in your state, Senator,
- 22 with the surprise visit of Secretary Pena to discuss

- 1 what has been an important issue for you. And as a
- 2 result of that, I appreciate the sacrifice that you've
- 3 made to be here today. Senator Bryan, you are more
- 4 than welcome at this point to address the Commission.
- 5 Thank you for being here.
- 6 SENATOR BRYAN: Thank you very much,
- 7 Chairman James and members of the Commission. I want
- 8 to express my appreciation for the opportunity to join
- 9 you today and share some comments.
- I appear before you this morning not only
- 11 as a member of the United States Senate representing
- 12 the State of Nevada, but also as a life-long resident
- 13 of Nevada, former attorney general and governor of my
- 14 state. As such, I have witnessed first hand and
- 15 played a role in the experiences that Nevada has had
- 16 with the gaming industry. I strongly support the
- 17 legal, regulated gaming industry we have today in
- 18 Nevada. When properly regulated and in the right
- 19 environment, casino gaming can be a positive force in
- 20 a community. That is our experience in Nevada.
- 21 I am not, however, here as a cheerleader
- 22 for the gaming industry or to advocate that gaming is

- 1 good for every community or for every person. Nor am
- 2 I here to tell you that there are no problems
- 3 associated with the gaming industry. Gaming works for
- 4 us in Nevada, but that does not mean that gaming can
- 5 work everywhere. Gaming is not the right fit for
- 6 every community and should be permitted or not
- 7 permitted based upon the views of local residents. In
- 8 addition, unregulated or poorly regulated gaming of
- 9 any sort is a problem. No community should allow
- 10 gaming without first having a solid regulatory
- 11 structure in place.
- 12 Before I get into the specifics, I would
- 13 like to make some observations, if I may, about the
- 14 first meeting of the Commission. My request to speak
- 15 at that time was denied. You, the media, and the
- 16 public heard from a former senator and a congressmen
- 17 who both are avowed opponents of the gaming industry
- 18 and would seem to prefer that gambling be legislated
- 19 out of existence. I respect their right to that
- 20 opinion. However, I do not believe it was in the best
- 21 interest of this Commission to hear only one viewpoint
- 22 and let anti-gaming rhetoric then set the tone for the

- 1 kick-off of this Commission's work.
- 2 As some of you know, I opposed the
- 3 legislation creating this Commission. At the same
- 4 time, I freely recognize that there are legitimate
- 5 reasons to study aspects of gambling, since the nature
- 6 of gaming and the technology involved has changed
- 7 dramatically. This Commission can provide a service
- 8 by objectively examining some of the areas of public
- 9 policy.
- 10 But none of us here in this room this
- 11 morning are naive. The drive for this Commission did
- 12 not come out of a desire for legitimate study of the
- 13 business of gaming. It came from a desire to portray
- 14 gambling as evil in all of its many forms and in such
- 15 a disreputable light that the gaming industry would
- 16 either find itself banned outright or loaded with such
- 17 restrictions and cost that it would have no ability to
- 18 operate.
- 19 Consider the first and indeed the only
- 20 hearing held in the House of Representatives on
- 21 creating a Commission to study legal gambling. The
- 22 House Judiciary Committee brought in a convicted mob

- 1 member to talk about the evils of illegal gambling and
- 2 how he and others had conducted illegal gambling. The
- 3 entire focus was on illegal gambling. The ironic
- 4 thing was that the mob member himself said legal,
- 5 regulated gambling was the force that drove out
- 6 illegal gambling and all of its unsavory undertones.
- 7 But that wasn't the story. The story was that
- 8 gambling was horrible and run by the mob. Lost was
- 9 the fact that the entire hearing focused on illegal
- 10 gaming, which I know we all oppose. No effort was
- 11 made to differentiate between illegal gaming, with all
- 12 of its unsavory connotations, and legal, regulated
- 13 gaming.
- 14 The Commission has a difficult job ahead,
- 15 and I commend each of you for your willingness to
- 16 serve and to give the tremendous amount of time that
- 17 this task will take from each of you. I urge you to
- 18 avoid the temptation to philosophize on the morality
- 19 of gaming, as some have urged you to do, or to issue
- 20 challenges to other organizations to enter into a
- 21 morality crusade. That is not the proper focus of a
- 22 taxpayer-funded study commission.

- 1 Those who oppose gaming on moral grounds
- 2 are entitled to advocate that view. Unfortunately,
- 3 too often these opponents of gaming have chosen to
- 4 pursue their moral agenda through undocumented,
- 5 anecdotal, sensationalized rhetoric as opposed to
- 6 facts. Congress has called on this Commission to
- 7 produce a fair and factual study which will help
- 8 public officials and those involved in gaming deal
- 9 with some of the legitimate policy questions they may
- 10 face in the coming years.
- 11 Your mandate is to look at all forms of
- 12 gaming. This includes state regulated casino gaming,
- 13 gambling on Indian reservations, Internet gambling,
- 14 church-sponsored and charitable gambling, and state-
- 15 run lotteries. I find it ironic that some of those
- 16 who oppose casino gambling turn their backs when it is
- 17 church-sponsored or conducted by state governments and
- 18 state lotteries.
- I hope this morning to give you a more
- 20 accurate portrait of Nevada and the gaming industry in
- 21 my state. The gaming industry in Nevada today is far
- 22 different from the business that was introduced in the

- 1 Nevada dessert more than 6 decades ago. If you want
- 2 that industry and that Nevada, you will have to go to
- 3 the movies.
- 4 The Nevada casino industry today is a
- 5 multi-faceted entertainment industry with its gaming
- 6 component regulated closely by the state. More than
- 7 25 percent of Nevada's residents work in the gaming,
- 8 hotel, and recreation industry. Nevada's average wage
- 9 in the hotel, gaming, and recreation industry in 1995
- was \$23,134.00, 35 percent higher than the industry's
- 11 national average. In 1996, the casino industry in
- 12 Nevada paid \$566 million in taxes and gaming fees to
- 13 the State of Nevada. The gaming industry accounts for
- 14 40 percent of the total general revenue for the
- 15 operation of the state. The industry also pays
- 16 federal and corporate taxes, just as all other
- 17 businesses do.
- 18 As an aside, largely because of gaming
- 19 fees and taxes, we in Nevada do not have any state,
- 20 individual, or corporate income tax, which is a plus
- 21 for our work force and for Nevada families.
- 22 Unemployment in Nevada was 4.5 percent in June of this

- 1 year --
- 2 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Senator, may I
- 3 interrupt?
- 4 SENATOR BRYAN: You certainly may.
- 5 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: It is very important
- 6 to hear what you have to say and I don't like the
- 7 distractions. Could we just take a minute and let him
- 8 find the problem with the microphone so that we can
- 9 hear you?
- 10 SENATOR BRYAN: I am pleased to do so,
- 11 Madam Chairman?
- 12 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Did you find it?
- 13 SENATOR BRYAN: Is there any significance
- 14 that Governor McCarthy's microphone has been
- 15 disconnected?
- 16 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: This is the first time
- 17 there has ever been a problem with microphones in the
- 18 Watergate. What can I say, Senator?
- 19 SENATOR BRYAN: And hopefully the last.
- 20 If I may continue?
- 21 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: I apologize for the
- 22 interruption. Please continue.

- 1 SENATOR BRYAN: We understand that. As I
- 2 was observing, unemployment in Nevada was 4.5 percent
- 3 in June of this year, a full half point lower than the
- 4 national average of 5 percent. More than 4,000 people
- 5 move into Las Vegas and Clark County each month. And
- 6 for the last decade, Nevada has led the nation in
- 7 population growth. In addition, Las Vegas hosts 30
- 8 million tourists annually. Thousands of America's
- 9 most prominent businesses, non-profit groups, and
- 10 trade associations head to Las Vegas for their
- 11 conventions -- The National League of Cities, the
- 12 recently held National Governors' Association, the
- 13 Disabled American Veterans, Ford Motor Company, Mobile
- 14 Oil, the Jewish War Veterans, Habitat for Humanity,
- 15 the YMCA of the USA, the National 4-H Council, the
- 16 International Union of Police Associations, and the
- 17 Southern Baptist Convention. Obviously, a lot of
- 18 people think Nevada and Las Vegas are pretty good
- 19 places to live, to work, or do business.
- 20 Let me also make an observation on the
- 21 allegations that you have heard that crime and casino
- 22 gaming go hand in hand. We need to be realistic about

- 1 this. The tourist promotion folks would not like me
- 2 to say this, but the fact is that high tourist areas
- 3 generally have a higher crime rate regardless of the
- 4 presence of casino gaming. It is an unfortunate
- 5 aspect of the many positive aspects of tourism. Using
- 6 the FBI crime index figures for metropolitan areas,
- 7 Las Vegas has a lower crime rate than Fort Lauderdale,
- 8 Florida, Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, Honolulu,
- 9 Hawaii, and almost half the rate of Miami, Florida.
- 10 Each of those communities are high volume tourist
- 11 areas. None of them have casino gaming. In fact, Las
- 12 Vegas's crime rate is only slightly higher than
- 13 Orlando, Florida, the home of Disney World. It would
- 14 be just as simplistic and inaccurate to say that if
- 15 those localities added casino gaming, maybe their
- 16 crime rate would go down to the Las Vegas level.
- 17 The casino gaming industry work force is
- 18 a significant and very positive part of Nevada's
- 19 economy. Nationwide, the gaming industry creates more
- 20 than 1 million jobs, direct and indirect, with casino
- 21 gaming providing more than 700,000 of those jobs and
- 22 wages of more than \$21 billion. This Commission

- 1 should look at data which will offer a factual basis
- 2 to judge the economic impact of the gaming industry.
- For us in Nevada, gaming has been a great
- 4 success story. Overall, you are going to find that
- 5 the casino segment of the gaming industry,
- 6 particularly that portion involved in large scale
- 7 resort operations and tourist destinations, is a good
- 8 employer, a high job potential employer, an employer
- 9 who pays good wages and offers better than average
- 10 benefits and a good neighbor in the community. This
- 11 is the case in Nevada. The casino industry in Nevada
- 12 provides good jobs and good benefits for Nevada's
- 13 families. Two casino gaming companies were among
- 14 companies honored recently at the White House for
- 15 outstanding achievements in getting people off Welfare
- 16 and into the work force. Most of Nevada's major
- 17 casino companies run Welfare to Work Fare programs.
- 18 One program cited by the White House had
- 19 12 percent of their work force from the Welfare rolls,
- 20 and 19 percent had been collecting unemployment prior
- 21 to getting a job in the gaming industry. I share this
- 22 with you because these facts aren't included in the

- 1 portrait that has been painted of the casino industry
- 2 by those who are on an anti-gambling crusade.
- 3 The gaming industry in Nevada today is
- 4 dominated by large, well-respected hotel/casino
- 5 corporations which are publicly traded on major stock
- 6 exchanges and regulated by the Securities and Exchange
- 7 Commission. All Nevada casinos are required to file
- 8 numerous reports with the U.S. Treasury Department as
- 9 do all banks and other financial institutions. There
- 10 is no more crucial state responsibility than to have
- 11 good, honest, thorough regulation. Gaming is a cash
- 12 business. Any business based on cash, whether it is
- 13 a bank or other financial services industry or the
- 14 gaming industry should be well-regulated.
- We didn't start that way in Nevada. We
- 16 made mistakes along the way. But today, Nevada has an
- 17 exemplary system of regulation. I was Attorney
- 18 General when we closed the Aladdin and governor when
- 19 we removed the entire ownership and management of the
- 20 Stardust, two major strip hotel operations in our
- 21 state. I have seen the industry at its worst and at
- 22 its best.

- 1 The gaming industry started slowly in
- 2 Nevada, but reached a period of rapid growth in the
- 3 1940's. By the mid 1950's, there was a recognition
- 4 that if this industry were to be allowed to continue,
- 5 the state had to play a stronger regulatory role.
- 6 Over the next 20 years, the regulatory structure was
- 7 completely revamped. Today, Nevada has a two-tier
- 8 system, with a gaming commission as a quasi-judicial
- 9 5-member commission granting and denying applications
- 10 for gaming licenses and imposing disciplinary
- 11 measures, and the gaming control board with 3 full-
- 12 time members to handle all administrative and
- 13 regulatory functions as well as making licensing and
- 14 disciplinary recommendations to the full commission.
- 15 Bill Bible on your Commission is the chairman of the
- 16 control board and is a respected and tough regulator.
- 17 He will be your best source as an effective regulatory
- 18 issues.
- 19 Included in the 1971 law revising the
- 20 regulatory structure was this statement, "The
- 21 continued growth and success of gaming is dependent
- 22 upon public confidence and trust that gaming licensing

- 1 is conducted honestly and competitively. That the
- 2 rights of creditors and licensees are protected and
- 3 that gaming is free from criminal and corruptive
- 4 elements. Public confidence and trust can only be
- 5 maintained by strict regulation of all persons,
- 6 locations, practices, associations, and activities
- 7 related to the operation of licensed gaming
- 8 establishment and the manufacture and distribution of
- 9 gambling devices and equipment."
- 10 Every aspect of the casino operation in
- 11 Nevada is closely regulated. Every operator and/or
- 12 owner, key employee, and those seeking to buy into a
- 13 gaming establishment must be licensed. All gaming
- 14 employees must continually maintain an approved work
- 15 permit. The average license investigation for a major
- 16 size casino takes more than 9 months and costs between
- 17 \$400,000.00 to \$700,000.00, all paid by the applicant.
- 18 The application process includes extensive background
- 19 checks and all those even marginally affiliated with
- 20 a new facility.
- 21 An important element of the Nevada license
- 22 process is that the burden of proof is on the

- 1 applicant. The state does not have to prove that the
- 2 applicant is not acceptable. Instead, the applicant
- 3 has to prove that he or she is worthy of a license
- 4 from the state.
- 5 The gaming control board has a budget of
- 6 \$20.7 million for 1997, and employs more than 400.
- 7 Their gaming agents have the powers of law enforcement
- 8 officers. Post-license investigations are constant to
- 9 detect any such problem as hidden ownership interest
- 10 or organized crime involvement. The enforcement
- division of the control board works on a 24-hour, 7-
- 12 day week inspecting facilities and equipment,
- 13 conducting undercover operations and monitoring work
- 14 permits of employees.
- 15 The control board tests and must approve
- 16 all electronic and mechanical gaming devices.
- 17 Violation of Nevada gaming laws can result in fines,
- 18 temporary revocation of a license, or a permanent ban
- 19 from any participation or work in the gaming industry.
- 20 Today, Nevada's system of regulation is a model which
- 21 this Commission should very carefully consider.
- 22 There are growing concerns in Congress

- 1 about the lack of regulation of tribal-run gaming and
- 2 the failure by some tribes to abide by laws governing
- 3 Indian gaming. I want to make it clear at the outset
- 4 that I do not oppose Indian gaming. To the extent
- 5 that a state, as a matter of its public policy,
- 6 permits any form of gaming within that state, tribal
- 7 members within that state are entitled to the same
- 8 opportunities.
- 9 Indian gaming is not a competitive threat
- 10 to Nevada's industry. Nevada's gaming industry is
- 11 threatened, however, by unregulated gaming anywhere.
- 12 In Nevada, compacts have been signed with five Indian
- 13 tribes. All five compacts provide that the Nevada
- 14 gaming control board will regulate tribal-run gaming
- 15 with the regulatory costs paid by the tribes.
- 16 A far different situation exists, however,
- 17 with Indian gaming as a whole throughout this country.
- 18 The National Indian Gaming Commission, an agency of
- 19 the federal government, is responsible for regulating
- 20 Indian gaming. The NIGC is responsible for monitoring
- 21 186 tribes in 28 states with 279 gaming operations on
- 22 a budget this year of just \$4.4 million and with 33

- 1 employees -- only 6 field investigators. They freely
- 2 admit that they do not have the staff to even look at
- 3 the annual audit reports filed by the gaming
- 4 operations. This is the regulation of the Indian
- 5 gaming industry that in 1996, according to the NIGC,
- 6 generated \$6 billion. The law creating the National
- 7 Indian Gaming Commission caps at \$1.5 million the fees
- 8 which can be collected from Indian gaming operations
- 9 for regulation, thus making effective regulation
- 10 impossible. Senators Nighthorse, Campbell, and Inouye
- 11 have pending legislation to increase the cap to \$15
- 12 million, which is just one quarter of one percent of
- 13 Indian gaming collections. Now bear in mind that
- 14 Indian casinos also pay no corporate taxes on gaming
- 15 revenue and are generally not subject to the federal
- 16 and state laws governing similar businesses.
- 17 Illegal Indian gaming is being conducted
- 18 in Florida, California, and other states where there
- 19 are no signed compacts with the state as required by
- 20 federal law. The U.S. Justice Department has done
- 21 little or nothing to stop it. In one California case,
- 22 a U.S. attorney, in clear violation of the law, told

- 1 the tribe if they would not bring in any more illegal
- 2 machines, they could keep operating the illegal
- 3 machines they already had. Florida residents have
- 4 repeatedly voted not to allow casino gaming in their
- 5 state, yet tribes operate illegal casinos and state
- 6 officials are powerless to do anything about it.
- 7 I urge you to read the recent GAO report
- 8 on Indian gaming. Some of the Indian tribes are
- 9 running excellent operations which greatly benefit
- 10 tribal members. However, there must be effective
- 11 regulation on all aspects of the industry.
- 12 Let me address an issue which the Chair
- 13 raised this morning, the subject of Internet gambling.
- 14 I hope Congress will pass legislation this year to ban
- 15 Internet gambling. It is clear that we are on the
- 16 verge of a tremendous surge in this new type of
- 17 gaming. It is equally clear there is no effective way
- 18 of regulating Internet gaming. Most Internet casinos
- 19 are located offshore, beyond the reach of U.S.
- 20 regulatory or law enforcement officials. There is no
- 21 way to insure that the games are fair, to do
- 22 background checks on the operators, or to control who

- 1 is playing. Gaming over the Internet provides
- 2 unprecedented and irresponsible access to gambling by
- 3 children, something I think that we can all agree is
- 4 a very bad idea. I am co-sponsoring legislation
- 5 introduced by Senator Kyl to impose a ban on Internet
- 6 gaming. If we hope to eliminate the threat of
- 7 Internet gaming, Congress needs to do it now.
- 8 Let me again stress the importance of
- 9 proper regulation on all aspects of the gaming
- 10 industry. First, it is good public policy. Second,
- 11 scandal in any aspect of the gaming industry will
- 12 affect Nevada's casino gaming industry and could
- 13 possibly have ramifications for Nevada's tourist-based
- 14 economy.
- 15 In conclusion, my suggestions to the
- 16 Commission for how you can best help policy makers and
- 17 the public make decisions on gaming related issues are
- 18 as follows. Present a fair, accurate analysis of each
- 19 form of gaming -- state regulated casino gaming,
- 20 gambling on Indian reservations, Internet gambling,
- 21 church-sponsored and charitable gambling, and state-
- 22 run lotteries. I urge you to factor into this the

- 1 uniqueness of the casino hotel entertainment industry
- 2 as it has developed in Nevada. Thoroughly analyze the
- 3 problems of Internet gaming. I believe your analysis
- 4 will show that only a national ban can prevent this
- 5 from becoming a major problem. Study all aspects of
- 6 Indian gaming, including the lack of regulation and
- 7 other measures needed to make Indian gaming comparably
- 8 regulated as non-Indian gaming. Provide states with
- 9 the information they need to adopt proper regulatory
- 10 structures. This structure needs to be comprehensive
- 11 from the first day of licensing continuing through
- 12 each day of operation and covering all owners and
- 13 employees and anyone doing business with the
- 14 operation. The regulatory system must be adequately
- 15 funded and staffed with costs borne primarily by the
- 16 industry. In addition, licensee applicants should be
- 17 required to prove affirmatively their suitability for
- 18 a state license. Do not place the burden on the
- 19 state. State governments, not some unwieldy and
- 20 remote federal bureaucracy are the best primary
- 21 regulators. Provide policy makers with independent
- 22 factual information to judge the pros and the cons of

- 1 the expansion of gaming. Give the industry
- 2 constructive suggestions on how to best identify and
- 3 help the compulsive gambler. Even though they are a
- 4 very small percentage of those who participate in
- 5 gaming, problem gamblers need professional care from
- 6 those who deal with the problems of compulsive
- 7 behavior.
- 8 Madam Chair, I would like to thank you
- 9 again for the opportunity of affording me this
- 10 presentation this morning, and I wish you and each
- 11 member of the Commission good work in your
- 12 deliberations in the years ahead. Thank you.
- 13 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Senator, thank you for
- 14 being here this morning. We hope that this is the
- 15 beginning of an ongoing relationship over the next two
- 16 years. We look forward to working with you as we
- 17 address these very important issues. Any comments or
- 18 questions for the Senator before we move on?
- 19 Commissioner Loescher?
- 20 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Yes, Madam
- 21 Chairman. Thank you very much, Senator. Thank you
- 22 very much for your presentation. Just two points I

- 1 was wondering about. The term, lack of regulation of
- 2 tribal-run gaming and then your discussion about the
- 3 underfunding of it. I wonder if the underfunding is
- 4 more of your point rather than the lack of regulation.
- 5 Because I am knowledgeable that there is extensive
- 6 regulation in place and more work going to monitor and
- 7 create regulation systems.
- 8 SENATOR BRYAN: My point, Mr. Loescher, is
- 9 based upon my experience in Nevada and the size of our
- 10 own regulatory system, which I testified to, that I
- 11 believe that it is impossible to effectively and
- 12 comprehensively regulate Indian gaming with the
- 13 limited staff that they have. Six field investigators
- 14 simply isn't adequate, and I believe that Senators
- 15 Nighthorse, Campbell, and Inouye have recognized that
- 16 by introducing legislation that would lift the cap
- 17 that I address and provide for more funding so that
- 18 there could be more adequate regulation.
- 19 It is my sense, and the experience that we
- 20 have had, that if you do not regulate gaming, you
- 21 invite problems and ineffective regulation is an
- 22 invitation for unsavory elements in our society to try

- 1 to penetrate. That is true whether it is Indian
- 2 gaming or non-Indian gaming, and the only effective
- 3 antidote to that is an effective, well-funded, and
- 4 adequately staffed regulatory system.
- 5 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Madam Chairman,
- 6 one more question or comment on your part if I could
- 7 secure it is I notice you speak about the Nevada
- 8 gaming regulation system and then you talk about
- 9 Indian gaming. Do you have any views about the
- 10 regulation systems of state governments who are
- 11 involved in lotteries and other similar kinds of
- 12 things?
- 13 SENATOR BRYAN: I do not consider myself
- 14 sufficiently expert to venture an opinion on that. I
- 15 really do not know. In Nevada, we have no state-
- 16 sponsored lottery, so I have had no personal
- 17 experience. My comments would be more of an opinion
- 18 without really an adequate foundation to guide you.
- 19 Thank you, Madam Chairman.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Thank you. Any other
- 21 comments or questions? Again, Senator, thank you very
- 22 much.

- 1 SENATOR BRYAN: Thank you very much, and
- 2 again, my best wishes to you and to the members of
- 3 this Commission.
- 4 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Our next speaker is
- 5 someone that I have known for quite a while. Frank
- 6 Fahrenkopf is President and CEO of the American Gaming
- 7 Association, a national association created to address
- 8 regulatory, political, and educational issues
- 9 affecting the gaming entertainment industry. Many of
- 10 you will remember Frank either as a leader or as an
- 11 opponent. I remember him as a leader from his years
- 12 as national chairman of the Republican Party under
- 13 President Reagan. He is a native of Nevada and has
- 14 served as a gaming attorney there and in national and
- 15 industry organizations. Welcome.
- MR. FAHRENKOPF: Thank you, Madam Chair
- 17 and members of the Commission. Again, I also want to
- 18 thank you for the opportunity to spend some time with
- 19 you this morning to discuss the important work that
- 20 lies ahead of you.
- 21 In many ways, I personally firsthand know
- 22 what lies ahead of you in the next 22 months. I have

- 1 just completed my first two years as the President and
- 2 CEO of the American Gaming Association and during that
- 3 two years, I have learned a tremendous amount about
- 4 this industry and its social and economic impacts.
- 5 The gambling industry in this country has
- 6 grown dramatically over the last few decades. There
- 7 are now state-run lotteries in 37 states and the
- 8 District of Columbia, some form of pari-mutuel betting
- 9 in 41 states, commercial casinos in 10 states, Native
- 10 American Class III casinos in 22 states, and
- 11 charitable gambling in 42 states. The entire
- 12 industry, as Senator Bryan indicated, employs directly
- 13 and indirectly over one million Americans. In 1996,
- 14 the entire industry had gross income of \$47.7 billion.
- 15 The AGA represents only the commercial
- 16 hotel casino entertainment industry, which consists
- 17 primarily of publicly held companies listed on the New
- 18 York, American, and NASDAQ exchanges and which are
- 19 closely regulated not only by state and local
- 20 government, but again as Senator Bryan indicated, by
- 21 the Securities and Exchange Commission.
- 22 Our segment of the industry employs more

- 1 than 700,000 people who earned over \$21 billion in
- 2 1995. Our casino employees earn an average annual
- 3 salary of \$26,000.00 with full benefits. Our gaming
- 4 companies paid 12.9 billion in federal, state, and
- 5 local taxes in 1995 with over 80 percent of that
- 6 number allocated to state and local taxes. From 1993
- 7 through 1995, we spent almost \$13 billion on
- 8 construction and purchases of property, furniture,
- 9 equipment, including improvements and refurbishments.
- 10 All told, the casino gaming industry contributed \$22
- 11 billion to \$25 billion in total revenues to the
- 12 economy in 1995. And certainly when we get the final
- 13 numbers for 1996, it will far exceed that. So I think
- 14 as you can see, this industry has a significant impact
- 15 across the entire economic spectrum of our nation.
- During my two years, I have also had the
- 17 opportunity, as you will, to hear the critics of the
- 18 gaming industry firsthand. Their view of gaming bears
- 19 no resemblance to the industry that I and a million
- 20 men and women who work in the industry know it to be.
- 21 The drumbeat of distortions, half-truths, and full
- 22 lies as I call them became a part of my daily life

- 1 over the last two years, and I think it will now
- 2 become a part of yours.
- 3 Gaming critics count on the raw emotions
- 4 that tragic anecdotal stories evoke to cover for the
- 5 weakness of their factual case. My appeal to this
- 6 Commission is very simple. The livelihood of more
- 7 than a million hardworking men and women and their
- 8 families can be affected not only by your final report
- 9 but by how these hearings are conducted. We ask only
- 10 for a fair and balanced procedure where facts are
- 11 prized and hyperbole is discouraged.
- 12 Anti-gaming advocates will appear before
- 13 this Commission and will make three fundamental
- 14 arguments. First, that gaming is immoral. Second,
- 15 that it is a predator industry in an economic sense.
- 16 And third, that the social costs of gaming exceed any
- 17 economic benefit.
- 18 As for the morality argument, we live in
- 19 a wonderful country where divergence of opinion is not
- 20 only tolerated but is encouraged. There are some who
- 21 find gaming immoral. So be it. Nothing I or we can
- 22 say or do will change their minds. And while we

- 1 respect their right to maintain their opinion as to
- 2 morality, the fact is that their views are just not
- 3 shared by the vast majority of Americans. According
- 4 to a recent study, 176 million visits to casinos
- 5 occurred in 1996. That figure, of course, does not
- 6 include those millions wagering with state lotteries
- 7 or with the pari-mutuel industry. It does not count
- 8 the thousands of office and workplace betting pools,
- 9 private wagers, those who regularly gamble on the
- 10 stock market, and we have had an interesting three or
- 11 four days in that arena, or those who bet on the first
- 12 tee of golf courses across the country every Saturday
- morning.
- I have also learned over the last two
- 15 years that there are numerous myths and stereotypes
- 16 about the industry in the public domain. Many of
- 17 these myths and stereotypes are perpetuated by those
- 18 who are opposed to gambling and whose ultimate goal is
- 19 to outlaw all forms of gambling anywhere in this
- 20 country. In many cases, opponents have attempted to
- 21 manufacture facts to support their views. Now while
- 22 I clearly respect the right of every American to

- 1 express their moral views, I think Senator Pat
- 2 Moynihan of New York said it best, and I quote him,
- 3 "Everyone is entitled to their own opinion, but not to
- 4 their own set of facts."
- 5 So to prepare a complete and accurate
- 6 report, as this statute requires you to to the
- 7 President, Congress, and the nations Governors, it is
- 8 critical, I believe, that you weigh all of the
- 9 evidence presented to you over the next two years and
- 10 weigh it carefully. You must attempt to distinguish
- 11 between myth and fact.
- 12 As I said, some critics will claim that
- 13 gaming is a predatory industry and that the social
- 14 costs of gaming far exceed the economic benefits it
- 15 produces. They will allege such things as gaming
- 16 increases street crime, that it is responsible for an
- 17 increase in U.S. bankruptcies, and that gaming causes
- 18 an increase in government payments for Welfare
- 19 programs. Most of these allegations, as you will find
- 20 if you probe, are based on so-called economic models
- 21 that just, in my view, cannot withstand critical
- 22 analysis. We believe the vast majority of the alleged

- 1 economic and social cost deficiencies of the industry
- 2 are, in fact, not supported by the facts.
- These economic models or theories can now
- 4 be evaluated through the prism of experience. Because
- 5 of the experience of the last four or five years in a
- 6 number of states who are new venues, the social and
- 7 economic impacts of gaming on state and local
- 8 communities can now be examined not by theory but by
- 9 the actual results reflected in independently derived
- 10 statistical data of state and local governments across
- 11 the country.
- 12 For example, with regard to the predatory
- 13 allegations, opponents ascribe to something called the
- 14 substitution theory. What they claim is that we feed
- 15 off other goods and services. A dollar that is spent
- 16 in a casino is a dollar that is not spent in the shoe
- 17 store or is not spent in a restaurant. According to
- 18 this theory or argument, gaming simply takes from
- 19 other established businesses without creating itself
- 20 any true growth in the economy.
- 21 Two recent studies conducted for the AGA
- 22 by Arthur Anderson on the economic impact of gaming in

- 1 the United States concluded that the substitution
- 2 theory is just invalid. The Anderson macroeconomic
- 3 study -- and by the way, Madam Chairman, I am making
- 4 copies of all of this available through your staff to
- 5 members of the Commission. The macrostudy establishes
- 6 that this argument works only if an economy is static
- 7 and real personal incomes do not grow over time. In
- 8 fact, the size of the U.S. economy has not been fixed.
- 9 Rather, it has expanded over time as new jobs have
- 10 been created. Per capita disposable income has also
- 11 increased leading to substantial increases in personal
- 12 consumption expenditures.
- 13 Look at the charts in the report very
- 14 carefully, because they show that spending on
- 15 recreational activities increased from 5 percent in
- 16 1970 to 9 percent in 1993, and of this 80 percent
- 17 increase in recreational spending, a very small
- 18 proportion, less than 5 percent, is due to incremental
- 19 spending on casino gaming. Therefore, since other
- 20 recreational industries are growing as well, gaming is
- 21 not just replacing other industries. And if the
- 22 substitution theory economic model were correct, we

- 1 would not see increases in retail sales and business
- 2 growth. Because according to the argument, it is the
- 3 same dollar that is now being spent at the casino that
- 4 is being taken away from other businesses.
- Now Arthur Anderson's microstudy, which
- 6 examined in detail three new gaming jurisdictions --
- 7 Biloxi/Gulfport, Mississippi, Shreveport/Bossier City,
- 8 Louisiana, and Joliet, Illinois -- found that there
- 9 had been significant positive economic impacts as a
- 10 direct result of gaming. The introductions of casinos
- 11 has led to growth in employment, retail sales,
- 12 commercial and new housing construction and
- 13 restaurants, and a decline in public assistance
- 14 programs and unemployment rates.
- 15 As I discuss these important economic
- 16 indicators, I will show you a series of charts to
- 17 demonstrate the positive economic impact that gambling
- 18 has had on these three communities which were examined
- 19 in the microstudies. For example, prior to the
- 20 arrival of gaming in Biloxi/Gulfport, Mississippi, the
- 21 average annual increase in retail sales stood at 3
- 22 percent. After gaming arrived in 1992, that growth

- 1 jumped to 12 percent. The \$2.2 billion in retail
- 2 sales during 1996 was an all-time high for the area.
- 3 Similarly, in 1994, the year casinos opened in
- 4 Shreveport and Bossier City, Louisiana, they
- 5 experienced the highest retail sales growth in 11
- 6 years. In fact, the percentage of retail sales growth
- 7 was higher in both cities during 1994 and 1995 than
- 8 the percentage growth of retail sales on the national
- 9 level. In 1996, retail sales growth of 5 percent
- 10 continued the upward trend. And according to the
- 11 Bossier City parish sales and use tax division,
- 12 taxable restaurant sales increased 5 percent in 1994
- 13 and another 7 percent in 1995 -- increases, by the
- 14 way, that do not include sales at casino restaurants.
- 15 11 new restaurants opened in Bossier City in 1995.
- 16 In Joliet, retail sales were \$3.2 billion in 1995, up
- 17 from \$2.4 billion in 1992, the year casinos opened.
- 18 A separate study of gaming in Tunica,
- 19 Mississippi, which you will find in your packets,
- 20 found that since casinos opened in 1992, retail sales
- 21 have increased by 600 percent. In all three areas
- 22 studied by Arthur Anderson, similar growth was seen in

- 1 commercial and residential construction, auto sales,
- 2 hotel and motel revenues, including revenues from non-
- 3 casino hotel rooms.
- 4 A recent report that just came out
- 5 conducted by two professors at the University of New
- 6 Orleans further debunks the predator theory. Their
- 7 research of how local restaurants fared in five
- 8 different gaming jurisdictions in the United States
- 9 found, and I quote, "When casinos are developed, all
- 10 aspects of the local food and beverage business
- 11 increased. The number of establishments increases,
- 12 the number of people employed increases, and payroll
- 13 increases at even a greater rate than the first two.
- 14 This growth occurs in both rural and urban communities
- 15 alike."
- The facts just tell the story, I think,
- 17 ladies and gentlemen. The predator theory just
- 18 doesn't have validity when faced with facts.
- 19 Now you will also hear arguments from
- 20 opponents that social costs wrought by gaming exceed
- 21 the benefits. Their argument is fundamentally that
- 22 people go into casinos, lose their money, lose their

- 1 jobs, end up on Welfare or commit crimes, and the
- 2 public has to pay the price. That reasoning is also
- 3 unsound and is not supported by the facts. One of the
- 4 ways we have always judged growth and progress in this
- 5 country is by examining the numbers of those who must
- 6 resort to public assistance. The lower these numbers,
- 7 the better a community and its residents are faring.
- 8 Arthur Anderson's microstudy also examined the public
- 9 assistance framework in areas where gaming has been
- 10 introduced in the last several years, enabling a solid
- 11 rebuttal to the anti-gaming argument. The study found
- 12 that in Shreveport/Bossier City, AFDC benefit payments
- 13 decreased 14 percent in 1995, a year after the
- 14 introduction of gaming, and fell another 15 percent in
- 15 1996. In 1994, the average number of food stamp
- 16 recipients was 56,000. By 1995, that number had
- 17 fallen by 15 percent.
- In the Biloxi/Gulfport area, the average
- 19 number of AFDC recipients has dropped steadily every
- 20 year since casinos opened in 1992, as have the benefit
- 21 payments. And the number of people using food stamps
- 22 has declined from 25,000 averaging \$22,000.00 in

- 1 benefits during 1992 to 21,000, using an average of
- 2 \$19,000.00 in benefits in 1996.
- 3 In Joliet, Illinois, after a steady
- 4 increase every year for the first five years of the
- 5 decade, the number of AFDC recipients has dropped by
- 6 more than 14 percent since 1994, and the entire county
- 7 of Will County has seen the same reduction with regard
- 8 to food stamps.
- 9 In a separate study of Tunica County in
- 10 Mississippi, results showed that since casinos opened
- in 1992, AFDC payments have dropped by 55 percent.
- 12 Food stamp distribution has declined by almost 80
- 13 percent. And child support payments have doubled
- 14 because people now have jobs and husbands are making
- 15 child support payments.
- 16 According to a recent University of
- 17 Maryland report, social costs on the Gulf Coast area
- 18 of Mississippi as well as in St. Louis, Missouri have
- 19 seen little change due to the advent of gaming.
- 20 Interviews with social service agencies indicated
- 21 modest increases in their demand for services. In
- 22 fact, the principle agency providing mental health

- 1 services on the Gulf Coast reported that no more than
- 2 1 percent of its caseload involved gambling problems.
- 3 Nor did the officials believe many cases had even an
- 4 indirect relationship to gaming activities.
- 5 In St. Louis, Missouri, the local family
- 6 services agencies did not experience an increase in
- 7 caseloads as they expected and expressed their
- 8 surprise at how little indication they had of any
- 9 effect from casinos. And as the Senator noted, this
- 10 is a very good place to note that we in the gaming
- 11 industry offer greater opportunities than do most
- 12 other businesses in this country. As this chart
- 13 reflects, a very high percentage of jobs in gaming are
- 14 held by minorities and women. In Bossier City,
- 15 minorities constitute 56 percent of the work force at
- 16 the casinos and women comprise more than half the work
- 17 force. In Biloxi, 35 percent of the casino employees
- 18 are minorities and 60 percent are women, which is
- 19 considerably higher than the average for the area.
- 20 In Joliet, minorities constitute 21 percent of the
- 21 casino work force and 58 percent are women. In fact,
- 22 as Senator Bryan indicated, our industry was

- 1 recognized at the White House by the President when he
- 2 kicked off his new bipartisan Welfare to Work
- 3 initiative, and the President also singled out the
- 4 industry's achievements at last month's annual and
- 5 national Governor's Association meeting in Las Vegas.
- 6 Now opponents recently have pointed to
- 7 increased bankruptcies in the United States and
- 8 incorrectly blamed them on the gaming industry. We
- 9 sort of take the heat for anything that is going wrong
- 10 in society. There is no proven correlation between
- 11 bankruptcies and casinos, although this claim has been
- 12 widely propagated by anti-gaming advocates and some of
- 13 the media. A recent USA Today series that offered a
- 14 detailed analysis of the increase in bankruptcies in
- 15 the United States listed the two most common reasons
- 16 for bankruptcies -- credit card liabilities, which
- 17 account for 63 percent of bankruptcies, and job loss
- 18 pay cuts which account for 50 percent. Only 2 percent
- 19 of bankruptcy filers cited gambling debts as a major
- 20 reason for their bankruptcy. Most experts across the
- 21 board agree that soaring bankruptcy rates are caused
- 22 by the ease in receiving consumer credit today and by

- 1 relaxed bankruptcy laws. From 1994 to 1996, U.S.
- 2 bankruptcy filing rates increased by 41 percent. The
- 3 8 states having the highest percentage of increases
- 4 were Hawaii, Arkansas, Maine, Vermont, North Carolina,
- 5 West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New Mexico. Out of
- 6 these states, one of them, Hawaii, has no legalized
- 7 gaming whatsoever, and four of the remaining seven
- 8 have no casino gaming in the state.
- 9 On the issue of crime, although gaming
- 10 opponents try to tell you differently, there is
- 11 nothing -- nothing inherent in the nature of casino
- 12 gaming or in the collective character and behavior of
- 13 millions of Americans who enjoy this form of
- 14 recreation that causes crime. When crime does go up
- in new gaming jurisdictions, as the Senator noted, the
- 16 explanation is more often than not that any city that
- 17 hosts thousands of new tourists daily is likely to
- 18 experience in petty and street crime. Just look at
- 19 Orlando, Florida after the opening of Disney World for
- 20 a graphic example. In the majority, however, of new
- 21 gaming jurisdictions, crime has decreased over time
- 22 and dropped well below the rate it was prior to

- 1 gaming's arrival. One has to look no further than East
- 2 St. Louis, where the crime rate dropped an incredible
- 3 49.6 percent after gaming was introduced, or Joliet,
- 4 where crime dropped 18.2 percent, or Alton, Illinois,
- 5 where crime decreased by 2.6 percent, or Dubuque,
- 6 Iowa, where crime went down 2.5 percent with the
- 7 advent of gaming. In Mississippi, statistics show
- 8 that between 1990 and 1994, crime rates were largely
- 9 static in areas where there is gambling, while crime
- 10 rates in other parts of the state climbed.
- 11 An important issue, the issue of problem
- 12 and underage gambling. It is a subject that is
- 13 difficult to quantify, but one that gaming opponents
- 14 continually point to, however using flawed statistics.
- 15 In fact, the most respected researchers in the field
- 16 today acknowledge that there is no single reliable
- 17 test for determining what percentage of the public has
- 18 a gambling problem and that improved methods for
- 19 prevention, education, and treatment are badly needed.
- 20 Ladies and gentlemen, that is why the Congress and the
- 21 President, in their wisdom, statutorily required this
- 22 Commission to have the issue of problem and underage

- 1 gambling researched and studied by the National
- 2 Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences,
- 3 where trained physicians, psychiatrists, counselors,
- 4 and other experts can, with appropriate peer review,
- 5 professionally examine this disorder and report back
- 6 to this Commission. And while the industry believes
- 7 the number of problem gamblers in the country to be
- 8 small, we believe that one problem gambler is one too
- 9 many. And because of this concern, the industry has
- 10 stepped up its efforts to help address the issues of
- 11 problem and underage gambling, identify the extent of
- 12 the problem, and then help find solutions that include
- 13 not only treatment, but education and prevention.
- In 1996, the National Center For
- 15 Responsible Gaming was formed to fund outside
- 16 independent research by leading universities and
- 17 research centers on problem and underage gambling.
- 18 Housed on the campus of the University of Missouri,
- 19 Kansas City, it is the first ever nationwide funding
- 20 source devoted solely to the study of problem and
- 21 underage gambling. The center will support the finest
- 22 peer-review basic and applied research on problem

- 1 gambling, encourage the application of new research
- 2 findings to improve prevention, education, and
- 3 treatment strategies, and enhance public awareness of
- 4 problem and underage gambling. Funding for the center
- 5 is provided by casino companies and overall support
- 6 currently totals \$4.485 million over the next 10 years
- 7 with more than \$800,000.00 in funding pledged and
- 8 available for each of the next three.
- 9 Madam Chair, in conclusion, the challenge
- 10 that lays before you is to find these things out for
- 11 yourself. Do not rely on anecdotal evidence, which I
- 12 am sure will be presented to you by gaming opponents
- 13 starting tomorrow afternoon, as heart-rendering and as
- 14 tragic as some of it may be. You must go to the towns
- 15 where gambling exists and talk to the people who work
- 16 and live in casino communities, particularly casino
- 17 employees, local law enforcement officials and the
- 18 mayors. You should also get the perspective of some
- 19 -- and let's not forget them -- the millions of
- 20 typical responsible adults across the country who
- 21 enjoy casino gaming as a form of entertainment and
- 22 recreation and whose occasional playing of slot

- 1 machines or blackjack brings no ill-effect on
- 2 themselves or others.
- 3 Gaming just may not be right for every
- 4 community. I agree with that. It is not a magic
- 5 economic silver bullet. However, if it is made part
- 6 of a carefully crafted economic development plan,
- 7 gaming can provide jobs, can provide economic
- 8 opportunity and infrastructure development, and help
- 9 revitalize communities and allow them to prosper.
- 10 As I wrote to you in a letter, Madam
- 11 Chair, during the Cold War, our old boss Ronald Reagan
- 12 often said with reference to dealings with the Soviet
- 13 Union, trust but verify. That is exactly what I think
- 14 this Commission must do. Don't take my word for it or
- 15 our word for it and don't take gaming opponents' word
- 16 for it. Verify the facts for yourself so that you can
- 17 objectively report to the American people what they so
- 18 rightly deserve to know. Thank you very much. It has
- 19 been a pleasure having an opportunity to discuss this
- with you.
- 21 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Thank you, Frank. Are
- 22 there any questions or comments, Commissioners?

- 1 Frank, again, thank you for being here this morning.
- 2 We look forward to the next two years and our
- 3 continued working together as we tackle and resolve
- 4 these most difficult issues.
- 5 MR. FAHRENKOPF: Thank you, Madam Chair.
- 6 We are available to assist in any way.
- 7 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Thank you. The
- 8 Commission will now hear from Rick Hill, who is the
- 9 chairman of the National Indian Gaming Association.
- 10 This Association, representing more than 150 Indian
- 11 tribes, has been involved in the gambling legislation
- 12 since it was initially discussed in Congress. We
- 13 certainly appreciate your interest and welcome you
- 14 here today, Mr. Hill, and look forward to your
- 15 comments.
- 16 MR. HILL: Thank you, Madam Chair. I want
- 17 to thank the Commission and the Chair for inviting
- 18 NIGA here this morning. There are always a lot of
- 19 comments about Indian gaming, some true and some
- 20 untrue. Hopefully, with the help of NIGA and the 557
- 21 federally-recognized tribes, we are here to share our
- 22 knowledge and our information about the truth about

- 1 Indian gaming. We stand available to provide
- 2 information to the Committee.
- 3 We have a testimony prepared for you and
- 4 I have a few short pages here to summarize that
- 5 particular testimony for the Commission this morning.
- 6 As mentioned, my name is Rick Hill, and I am the
- 7 chairman of the National Indian Gaming Association.
- 8 NIGA is a non-profit organization established by
- 9 gaming tribes in 1985. Membership is composed of 158
- 10 sovereign Indian nations and 94 non-voting associate
- 11 corporate members. NIGA was formed by tribes to
- 12 protect their sovereign governmental rights to support
- 13 their gaming economic interests in Congress and
- 14 elsewhere.
- 15 Indian nations are sovereign. We hope
- 16 this Commission will respect tribal leadership and
- 17 hear from elected tribal leaders who are
- 18 representative of the federally recognized Indian
- 19 nations. An estimated 450,000 direct and indirect
- 20 jobs are provided by Indian gaming, and these were
- 21 jobs that were not available 10 years ago.
- We are here today to comment in regard to

- 1 Indian nation issues. Indian nations have never
- 2 opposed this Commission. Indian nations feel a great
- 3 deal of ownership over the establishment of this
- 4 Commission. Eight of our recommendations were
- 5 incorporated into the final version of the
- 6 legislation. A couple of those are that we invited
- 7 the Commission to examine tribal regulatory systems.
- 8 We hear a lot about how tribes are not regulated. So
- 9 we encourage that through the legislative process that
- 10 that would be included. The economic impact on the
- 11 tribe and the surrounding communities, and also that
- 12 there would be a Native American that would serve on
- 13 this particular Commission to help people understand
- 14 and help protect our interests as this Commission
- 15 moves forward. So we have been an active participant
- 16 in the development of this legislation, and we are
- 17 thankful for that.
- 18 The initial and primary concern of the
- 19 Indian nations is the study to be conducted fairly,
- 20 equitably, and unbiased with the appropriate emphasis
- 21 on all areas. Certain individuals will attempt to
- 22 sway this Commission toward only Indian and Internet

- 1 gaming. The Commission areas of the study are
- 2 enumerated in the legislation. They go beyond just
- 3 Indian and Internet gaming. Indian gaming was not
- 4 what led Congress to pass this legislation.
- 5 As the Commission develops its plan of
- 6 action, we hope they will keep certain things in mind.
- 7 First, Indian governmental gaming is unique and
- 8 different from any other form of gaming. Indian
- 9 nations exercise rights of sovereignty which predate
- 10 the creation of the United States and are acknowledged
- in the U.S. Constitution and are recognized in the
- 12 United States Supreme Court cases including Cabazon
- 13 and Seminole. Any study of Indian nation matters
- 14 without considering this jurisdictional framework
- 15 would be -- would not be accurate.
- 16 Second, Indian gaming is a governmental
- 17 option. Most Indian nations do not offer gaming.
- 18 Approximately two-thirds do not. There are 557
- 19 federally recognized tribes and through their
- 20 legislative processes 190 have decided to do gaming in
- 21 28 states.
- 22 Third, Indian nations gaming is to

- 1 increase governmental revenue. Indian nations are
- 2 located in remote areas with little or no other means
- 3 to raise governmental revenue.
- 4 In regard to the Commission's plan of
- 5 action, there are three primary areas which
- 6 specifically relate to Indian governmental gaming.
- 7 The first involves a review of existing tribal
- 8 government policies and practices and ordinances. It
- 9 is our hope that the Commission takes time to assess
- 10 tribal laws, regulations, and tribal gaming
- 11 commissions.
- 12 The second involves the impact of gambling
- 13 on depressed economic areas. Unemployment in Indian
- 14 country is 50 percent, more appropriate to Third World
- 15 countries, and it seems to us that it is
- 16 unconscionable that this occurs in the United States.
- 17 It is our hope that the Commission will examine how
- 18 tribal economies have benefitted from Indian gaming.
- 19 I would like to say that because of the
- 20 revenues, there are new schools on our reservations.
- 21 There are hospitals and there are daycares and there
- 22 are roads and sewers, there are new established police

- 1 departments. On the whole, things that didn't exist
- 2 before these revenues came to our governments for
- 3 governmental uses and purposes as are outlined in
- 4 IGRA.
- 5 The third, to the extent which gaming
- 6 provides revenues to tribal governments, it includes
- 7 possible alternative revenue sources. One grossly
- 8 untrue impression is that tribes are earning a large
- 9 amount of revenue. A vast majority of tribes only
- 10 realize a small amount. It is our hope that the
- 11 Commission will examine tribal governmental revenue
- 12 increases and tribal revenue uses and some of the
- 13 things that I mentioned. There is a myth out there
- 14 because Indians now do gaming that all Indians are
- 15 rich. That is really far from the truth. There are
- 16 really some pretty desperate situations out there. I
- 17 would like the Commission to look at that.
- 18 In regard to visiting Indian nations and
- 19 their gaming facilities, the Commission should visit
- 20 as many as possible. We hear that the Commission will
- 21 only visit the Mashentucket Pequot Foxwood facility.
- 22 While the Commission has much to learn there, that

- 1 casino is not representative of all Indian gaming. I
- 2 just might add that I think the Commission would be
- 3 remiss if they didn't visit the full range of our
- 4 tribal communities and their casinos. There are some
- 5 very small operations in Pine Ridge, South Dakota,
- 6 where if they create a few jobs and a few dollars --
- 7 I mean, a million dollars in net would be a large
- 8 amount of money for those folks in the Dakotas and our
- 9 medium size casinos in the Midwest somewhere and the
- 10 infrastructures providing for tribal governments. And
- 11 certainly the Pequot has done an exemplary job in
- 12 their facility. But I think for the Commission to get
- 13 a full feel of what Indian gaming is about, you really
- 14 need to venture into Indian communities and hold
- 15 hearings on those areas.
- I would also add that I think it would be
- 17 important the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act was
- 18 passed in 1988, and there are several jurisdictions
- 19 where tribal governments haven't been able to realize
- 20 compacts. I think that would be important to really
- 21 be comprehensive in terms of your looking at Indian
- 22 gaming to include those areas where they haven't been

- 1 able to achieve these compacts and the economic
- 2 benefits thereof.
- 3 NIGA elected tribal leaders and attorneys
- 4 with Indian gaming expertise, tribal gaming employees,
- 5 and tribal gaming regulators put together a document
- 6 to assist the Commission and it is submitted for the
- 7 Commission's consideration. We urge you to seriously
- 8 examine these recommendations, and I think you will --
- 9 I hope you will find them useful and give some
- 10 quidance to the Commission.
- 11 Finally, we wish to express our sincere
- 12 disappointment concerning comments made before this
- 13 Commission that Indian nation governmental gaming is
- 14 unregulated. This was at the first meeting. First,
- 15 this is supposed to be an unbiased study. We have
- 16 serious concerns that this Commission can conduct a
- 17 fair study before any information is even reached or
- 18 collected. Uninformed and discriminatory claims are
- 19 being made. Second, Indian gaming is the most
- 20 regulated gaming in the U.S. Indian gaming is subject
- 21 to laws and regulations of federal, tribal, and state.
- 22 Involved in regulation and enforcement of Indian

- 1 gaming are the Federal Government, the Department of
- 2 the Interior, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the
- 3 National Indian Gaming Commission, the Department of
- 4 Justice, attorneys and the FBI, the Department of the
- 5 Treasury, the IRS, and FINCEN. All tribal levels, all
- 6 segments of tribal government, tribal councils, tribal
- 7 gaming commissions, and tribal law enforcement are
- 8 involved in regulation. Through tribal/state
- 9 compacts, states are heavily involved in regulation.
- 10 Recent information suggests that \$250 million annually
- 11 is spent on regulation of Indian gaming.
- 12 Most tribal gaming commissions have only
- 13 one or two facilities to oversee and regulate as
- 14 opposed to state commissions which oversee and
- 15 regulate hundreds of facilities. To suggest Indian
- 16 gaming is unregulated is untrue and an attempt to
- 17 unfairly sway the Commission from its fair and
- 18 unprejudicial task.
- I just need to comment before I close on
- 20 statements that the Senator made this morning
- 21 regarding the illegal activities. A lot of these
- 22 things -- I mean, all of these things are in court.

- 1 So I think it is a rush to judgment and a prejudgment
- 2 to not let the disposition of the courts to run
- 3 through its course to decide whether these are illegal
- 4 or not illegal. These are all matters that are
- 5 subject in the court and that would be the appropriate
- 6 forum to decide whether these are illegal or not -- or
- 7 are legal or illegal. So I think attempts with such
- 8 drama about the illegal legalities of Indian gaming
- 9 and Indian nations are running rampant and are
- 10 irresponsible is really far from the truth. I think
- 11 these tribes since 1988 have been working very hard
- 12 and spending an inordinate amount of resources trying
- 13 to achieve these compacts under the law and have been
- 14 stonewalled by certain governors in the United States.
- 15 So we want to encourage the Commission to look at
- 16 these things and hopefully you will reach the same
- 17 understanding that we have through this long ordeal to
- 18 achieve lawful compact under IGRA. So I stand ready
- 19 to respond to any comments or questions or anything
- 20 you would like to offer up, Madam Chair.
- 21 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Madam Chairman?
- 22 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Yes.

- 1 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Thank you very
- 2 much, Rick. I appreciate your presentation this
- 3 morning. What I would like to request is two things.
- 4 One, I have received the comments on the workplan and
- 5 I will forward them to the Commission members today in
- 6 our work here.
- 7 MR. HILL: Thank you.
- 8 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: And also, I would
- 9 like to request, if you could, to provide the
- 10 Commission with 15 copies of your statement, so that
- 11 we could have it during this session.
- 12 MR. HILL: Okay. The detail statement is
- 13 available, and I think we gave it to some staff here
- 14 to be provided to the Commission.
- 15 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Thank you, Madam
- 16 Chairman.
- 17 MR. HILL: Thank you, Mr. Loescher.
- 18 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Thank you. Any other
- 19 questions or comments?
- 20 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: I agree with you,
- 21 Mr. Hill, with regard to the importance to the
- 22 Commission of visiting not only Connecticut but also

- 1 other Indian gaming jurisdictions, and I would
- 2 appreciate either from you or from Commissioner
- 3 Loescher specific suggestions in that regard.
- 4 MR. HILL: We will be as helpful as we can
- 5 in providing the Commission with information as to
- 6 areas we think that would lend to the specific study
- 7 areas that you are looking at, and I am thankful that
- 8 you are in agreement with that to see the full range
- 9 of the gaming facilities out in Indian country. Thank
- 10 you.
- 11 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: I would like to remind
- 12 the Commissioners that the workplan is, in fact, a
- 13 draft. We hope that by the time we finish tomorrow,
- 14 we will have the opportunity to incorporate your
- 15 suggestions and ideas, first cut. And as a result of
- 16 that, if you would give that information and
- 17 suggestions and make sure that the Commission has it
- 18 as we have those discussions tomorrow, I am sure we
- 19 would be happy to entertain them.
- 20 COMMISSIONER LANNI: Madam Chair, I have
- 21 a question of Mr. Hill. Mr. Hill, I think you
- 22 indicated that there is a 50 percent unemployment